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SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA UNDER HUNGARIAN RULE

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
Economic Intelligence Division
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Description

A general description of the country, conditions under Hungarian occupation after 1938/1939, future position among the European nations.

21 February 1944

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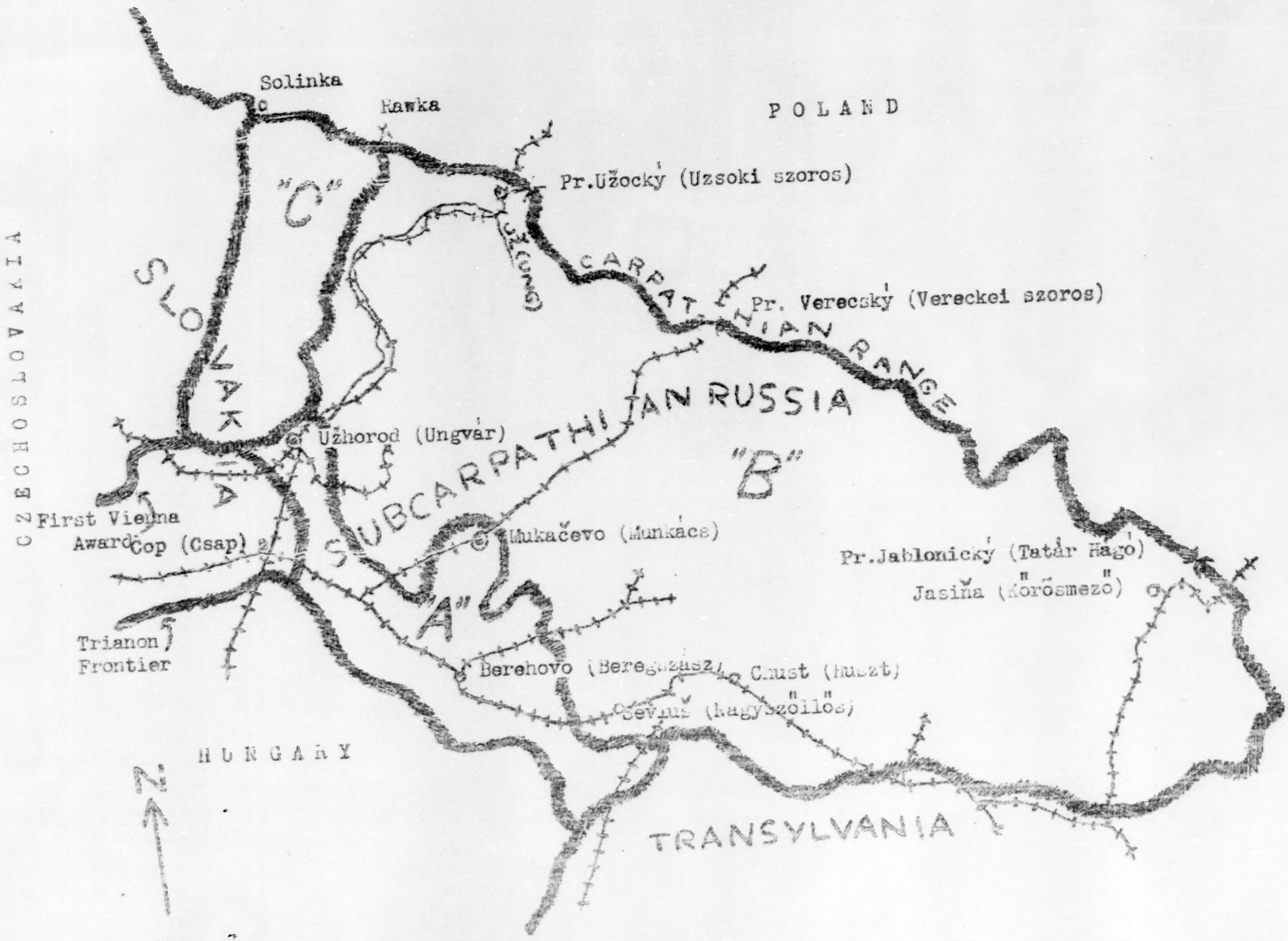
SUMMARY

Until 1918 Subcarpathian Russia was the most undeveloped and poorest territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It is inhabited mainly by a people ethnically related to the Ukrainians and Russians. During the nineteenth century, under Austro-Hungarian administration, it was subjected to a forced but largely successful Magyarization policy, though little was done to improve economic conditions and provide adequate schooling for that part of the population which had not as yet been Magyarized. After the First World War Subcarpathian Russia became an "autonomous" province of the Czechoslovak Republic. Though full autonomy could not be granted to a people which at that time lacked political training and education, the new administration embarked upon a new and successful economic educational and political rehabilitation program. The province was occupied by Hungarian troops in 1938/1939 as Germany advanced into other Czechoslovak territory, and the Hungarian Government again introduced a Magyarization policy. Realizing, however, that after two decades of liberal and progressive Czechoslovak administration the people of Subcarpathian Russia had regained their national consciousness and would not tolerate forced assimilation by a conservative and feudal regime, the Hungarian Government tentatively and ostensibly upheld the national ideals of the Subcarpathian population, promised autonomy and preferential treatment. The Hungarians are now attempting to educate a staff of officials tolerant of local traditions, languages, and national ideas, but loyal to the Government in Budapest, so as to permit a return to the old Magyarization policy as soon as possible. While the Government is also making military preparations to retain the country after this war, the population of Subcarpathian Russia may prefer to rejoin the Czechoslovak Republic or make some form of affiliation with the USSR rather than remain in Hungary. However, it is bound by economic ties to the Hungarian plain, access to which is a prerequisite for its economic welfare.


Solinka
Rawka
POLAND
Pr.Užocký (Uzsoki szoros)
"C"
Užok (Uzsok)
CARPATHIAN RANGE
Pr. Verecský (Vereckei szoros)
SLOVAKIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Užhorod (Ungvár)
SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA
"B"
First Vienna Award
Cop (Csap)
Mukačevo (Munkács)
Pr.Jablonický (Tatár Hágó)
Jasiňa (Körösmező)
"A"
Trianon Frontier
Berehovo (Beregszász)
Chust (Huszt)
Sevľuš (Nagyszőllős)
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
RUMANIA
N
Scale approx. 1:1,000,000
0 10 20 30 40
kilometers

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Subcarpathian Russia is located on the southwestern slopes of the Carpathian range between Slovakia and Transylvania; it stretches southwest as a transition to the Hungarian plain and is separated in the north from Poland by the Carpathian watershed. For a thousand years it was an integral part[1] of the "Realm of St. Stephen," which fact despite the overwhelmingly non-Magyar[2] population, forms the main argument of contemporary Hungarian revisionist propaganda. It was spared from Turkish occupation in the 16th and 17th century. From 1849 to 1867 it was governed like the rest of Hungary by the absolutist government of the Hapsburgs in Vienna, but by the terms of the 1867 compromise it was again taken over by Hungarian administration which then engaged in a thrust-out magyarization program, without improving, however, the extremely backward educational, economic, and political conditions of that territory.

The first attempt to remedy its backward condition and provide for an autonomous administration was made by the liberal and democratic Government of Michael Károlyi. The Autonomy Statute of the Hungarian Ministry of Nationalities, (Peoples Law #1918: X) was promulgated on 25 December 1918 and provided a status of independence for Subcarpathia similar to that of Croatia-Slavonia. But events moved fast and the Károlyi government was not in power long enough to carry out its liberal minority policies.[3]

The Ruthenian population was politically too inexperienced to decide its own future at the time of the Austro-Hungarian collapse. Already Károlyi's Minister of Nationalities, Oszkár Jászi, whose intentions to grant Ruthenian autonomy were beyond question, was unable to find a local Ruthenian-speaking person qualified for the post of Minister of Subcarpathia. The various Ruthenian councils organized in Subcarpathia to decide its future place in the new Europe did not represent the wishes and needs of the country as a whole. Thus the council of Prešov voted for independence, but later decided to join Czechoslovakia; the Council of Uzhorod(Ungvár) decided to join the Hungarian Peoples Republic; the Council

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1. Kárpátalja or Subcarpathia.
2. "Magyar" will be used to denote ethnic and linguistic. "Hungarian" to denote administrative and political characteristics.
3. Oszkár Jászi, Subcarpathian Ruthenia, from Czechoslovakia edited by R. J. Kerner, p. 202.

of Chust (Huszt) to join the Ukraine; and the Hutzul Council of Jasina (Körösmező) was in favor of forming an independent Hutzul Republic, ignoring the rest of the country.[1] The fate of the country was finally decided by the Allied Powers, the founders of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Subcarpathian groups in the United States.

At the end of the First World War and by the terms of the Trianon Treaty (1920) between the Allies and Hungary, this territory was awarded to the Czechoslovak Republic as its easternmost autonomous Province called Podkarpatská Rus (Subcarpathian Russia). For the first time in history Subcarpathian Russia was treated and respected as a separate administrative unit. The Czechoslovak Government introduced a new and heretofore unknown educational system, advanced social legislation, and an economic rehabilitation program, to lift the Province out of its neglected and backward condition by allocating to this program considerably more than local resources and taxes compensated for. The promised autonomy, however, could not be granted at a time when the Province could not provide a sufficient number of trained officials, and when the Ruthenian population was still strongly attached to Hungary and would have preferred Hungarian citizenship.[2]

When, after the 1938 Munich agreement, Germany incorporated Czechoslovak territory, the Hungarian Government considered this as its opportunity under German and Italian protection to recover territory lost at Trianon. While Hungarian troops marched into Czechoslovakia, the Government submitted its claims for a frontier rectification along ethnic lines to the two Axis powers. The Vienna "award" of November 1938 assigned the southern strip of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia to Hungary. The Subcarpathian strip included the two large towns, all the fertile lands and the only lateral railroad, thus leaving the Province an economic monstrosity. The Hungarian Government declared Hungary's ethnographic claims satisfied, but soon it appeared that both Poland and Hungary were trying to foment unrest in order to justify complete occupation and the establishment of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. Furthermore, the Hungarian Government, by delaying the final determination of the new frontiers and supporting the activities of irregular Hungarian military formations beyond the line of demarcation, soon admitted that it wished the reestablishment of its historic frontiers. When as a result of further German pressure on Czechoslovakia the province of Slovakia declared its independence, Subcarpathian Russia also set up an independent government on 15 March 1939. This independence

1. O. Tarjan and A. Fall, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Ruthenians in the Danube Valley, pp. 20-21; Jaszi, op.cit., p.204.
2. CID #54040.

lasted for one day only. As German plans of an Ukrainian federation were rumored, and German agents were actively working along those lines among the Ruthenian population, the Hungarian Government felt that it could not wait for another formal arbitration. Hungarian troops marched into Subcarpathian Russia and occupied the Province despite the resistance offered by Czechoslovak troops, the local population, and SIC units. (The SIC units were Ukrainian Storm Troopers sponsored and organized by Germany in connection with the Ukrainian federation program. They were officially disbanded by the Czechoslovak Government but apparently retained their organization and sufficient arms to oppose the Hungarian advance and to participate in subsequent guerrilla fighting.)

The occupation of Subcarpathian Russia was completed by 18 March 1939. Frequent clashes occurred between Hungarian and Slovak troops as the former advanced beyond the common frontier between the two Provinces, until the final frontier was determined by a mixed commission in Budapest on 4 April 1939 and Hungarian troops completed the occupation of territory west of the river Už (Ung) in the Province of Slovakia.

Thus through German-Italian arbitration and cooperation Hungary succeeded in recovering all of Subcarpathian Russia and part of Slovakia lost to Czechoslovakia in 1920. However, the possession of these territories by Hungary is not recognized by the Allied Powers.

II. AREA AND POPULATION

Subcarpathian territories occupied by Hungary may be summarized as follows: (see map)

Territory "A": assigned to Hungary by the First Vienna Award 2 November 1938, the southern strip of Subcarpathian Russia averaging about 30 kilometers in width, including the cities of Uzhorod (Ungvár) and Mukacevo (Munkács) 1523 square kilometers with a population of 173,233 according to the 1930 Czechoslovak census.[1] Territories occupied under this Award from the Province of Slovakia will not be covered by this report.

Territory "B": the remainder of Subcarpathian Russia, occupied by Hungary between 15 and 18 March 1939; 11,086 square kilometers with a population of 552,561 according to the 1930 Czechoslovak census.[2]

Territory "C": in the Province of Slovakia, west of the river Už (Ung), occupied by Hungarian troops by 7 April 1939 under the Slovak-Hungarian agreement of 4 April 1939; 1,056 square kilometers with a population of 40,777 according to the 1930 Czechoslovak census.[3]

Recapitulation	Square kilometers	Population in 1930
Territory "A"	1,523	173,233
"B"	11,086	552,561
"C"	1,056	40,777
Total	13,665	766,571

Territories "A" and "B" formed the Czechoslovak Province of Subcarpathian Russia. The Hungarian administration, however, incorporated territory "A" into the existing county system, and organized "B" and "C" into the administrative district of Kárpátalja (Subcarpathia). This renders the comparison and analysis of available statistical data extremely difficult, but they are sufficiently accurate for a general survey.

1. Central European Observer, Prague, 16 December 1938, p. 392.
2. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle (Hungarian Statistical Review published by the Hungarian Statistical Institute, Budapest) 1939, #3, p. 198.
3. Ibid., p. 237.

III. NATIONALITIES

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The majority of the population is Subcarpathian Russian, also known as Ruthenian or (in Czech) Rusin, ethnically related to Ukrainians and Russians; these are concentrated in the mountains. The other important nationality groups are the Magyar, concentrated on the plains, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and Rumanians, the latter concentrated in a few villages near the Transylvanian frontier. Their distribution is shown by the following tables.

Territory "A" -- 1930 Czechoslovak Nationality Census:[1]

Czechoslovak citizens:	
Czechoslovak	16,466
Ruthenian	33,435
German	4,534
Magyar	83,578
Jewish	25,427
Others and unknown	930
Foreigners	8,863
Total	173,233

Territory "B" and "C" Hungarian Mother Tongue Census:[2]

	1939	1941
Czechs and Slovaks	24,818	24,666
Ruthenians	498,290	503,304
Germans	9,340	9,634
Magyars	57,562	72,036
Rumanians	14,464	15,407
Yiddish		68,319
Others	63,087	5,019
Total	667,561	698,385

Territory "A" and "B" -- 1930 Czechoslovak Nationality Census:

Czechoslovak citizens:	
Czechoslovaks	33,961
Ruthenians	446,916
German	13,249
Magyar	109,472
Jews	91,255
Others and unknown	14,276
Foreigners	16,228
Total	725,357

1. Central European Observer, 16 December 1938, p.392 and Statisticky Lexicon Obci v Podkarpatskej Rusii, 1934, Prague, p. XV.
2. Annuaire Statistique Hongrois, v.47, 1940 Budapest, and CID #56472

Distribution of nationalities in the big cities and the surrounding rural districts according to 1930 Czechoslovak Nationality Census:

	Mukačevo (Munkács) City	Rural districts	Užhorod (Ungvár) City	Rural districts
Czechoslovak citizens:				
Czechoslovak	2,664	2,887	8,030	4,521
Ruthenian	6,476	58,406	6,200	22,596
German	991	4,745	508	446
Magyar	5,561	10,549	4,499	14,946
Jewish	8,869	5,944	5,897	3,438
Others and unknown	106	128	110	259
Foreigners	435	721	1,371	1,303
Total	25,102	83,380	26,675	47,559

IV. RELIGIONS

The great majority of the Ruthenians are Greek Catholics (Uniates). Originally they belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Uniate Church, with the Orthodox ritual but acknowledging the primacy of the Pope, in Rome, was created by the Hapsburgs in the 17th century to offset the Russian influence manifested through the Orthodox clergy. The conversion to the Uniate Church progressed successfully from the 17 century and was continued by the Hungarian administration until 1918 when 97 percent of the Ruthenes belonged to the Uniate Church and 3 percent to the Orthodox. The schism became again pronounced during the Czechoslovak administration, when Ukranian immigrants of the Orthodox faith entered the country. The Uniate clergy was mostly Hungarophil and the Czechoslovak Government no doubt welcomed if not supported the shift toward the Orthodox Church. By 1930 70 percent of the Ruthenians were Uniates and 30 percent Orthodox.

It is reported that the center of Orthodox church life is the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Monastery, St. Job of Potchaiev established in 1923 in Vladimirova. The Monastery has a printing press and has been able to issue a series of books and pamphlets and a periodical called "Orthodox Russia." Much of this literature has recently been distributed in occupied Russia,[1] though details of the manner and purpose of the distribution are not yet known.

Nearly all Jews are Orthodox Jews, and enjoyed complete autonomy in cultural and religious affairs under the liberal Czechoslovak regime. Their respect for the Talmudic precept which enjoins obedience to local authority detached them after 1920 more easily from their Hungarian bonds than the Reformed

1. CID #56472.

Jews from Slovakia. The proportion of Jews in towns is particularly large, but they are also well represented in villages, play an important role in economic and intellectual life and also work in factories, vineyards, forests, and on the roads.[1] Since 1939 they have suffered considerably under the antisemitic measures of the Hungarian administration, craftsmen and tradesmen lost their licenses in large numbers, though on the occasion of the first admission to the new Hungarian Bar Associations they were exempt from the quota limitations applied in the rest of Hungary.

The relatively small group without religious affiliation was formed by Czechoslovak civil servants who immigrated after 1920.

The following tables show the distribution of religions for the whole territory, the big cities and surrounding rural districts, according to the 1930 Czechoslovak Census.[2]

Territory:	"A" and "B"	"C"	Total "A", "B" and "C"
Roman Catholic	69,262	6,591	75,853
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	359,166	26,849	386,015
Evangelical Reformed	70,833	--	
Calvinist (Presbyterian)	--	3,318	74,230
Lutheran	--	79	
Greek Orthodox	112,034	--	112,034
Jewish	102,542	2,369	104,911
Other and unknown	6,567	1,571	8,138
Without confession	4,953	--	4,953
Total:	725,357	40,777	766,134

	Mukačevo-Munkács		Užhorod-Ungvár	
	City	Rural districts	City	Rural districts
Roman Catholic	5,742	7,614	8,674	8,515
Greek Catholic(Uniate)	6,378	46,482	7,497	24,018
Evangelical Reformed	1,429	9,433	1,106	10,043
Greek Orthodox	376	11,649	263	139
Jewish	11,313	6,317	7,357	4,287
Other and unknown	506	976	979	394
Without confession	358	909	799	163
Total:	26,102	83,380	26,675	47,559

1. C.A. Macartney, Hungary and Her Successors, (Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 217-245.
2. Central European Observer, 16 December 1938, p. 392; Statisticky Lexicon Obci v Podkarpatskej Rusii, Prague, 1934, p.XV. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1943 #3, p.239.

V. OCCUPATIONS

The 1930 Czechoslovak Census showed the following distribution of occupations in Subcarpathian Russia ("A" and "B"):

Agriculture, forestry, and fishery	480,856
Industry and trades	86,590
Commerce and banking	41,550
Transportation	23,094
Civil service, professions, and army	37,775
Other occupations	55,492
Total:	725,357

Forty-nine percent of this area is covered by forests and only 18.33 percent by arable land. The valleys of the Carpathian Range lead toward the Hungarian plain and thus determine the natural trade routes of the country. Industry is undeveloped and produces for the local market only. Within the Czechoslovak Republic it could not compete with Slovakia, trade relations with Hungary were strained because of the political situation, and even timber exports decreased considerably by 1930. The seasonal migration of agricultural workers to Hungary, an important item before 1918, was stopped by the Czechoslovak administration.[1] When the Hungarian administration took over in 1938/1939, the country was suddenly severed from its former financial connections and credit sources in Prague: this development further aggravated its unfavorable economic position. While the Government announced an extensive economic rehabilitation program, it is doubtful whether under present inflationary and black market conditions much improvement could be achieved.

VI. EDUCATION BEFORE 1939

Educationally Subcarpathia was the most backward territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Illiteracy was extremely high, primary education rudimentary, and Ruthenian language schools negligible, while secondary education was exclusively Magyar. The Ruthenian population had no national consciousness or ambitions; they readily submitted to Magyarization as the only means of improving their economic status, to obtain higher education and better jobs in the Hungarian cities. Thus to be un-Magyarized was to remain in the slums.

After 1920 the Czechoslovak administration established an appropriate school system for all grades. Teaching in elementary schools for Ruthenians was in the local dialect with a tendency of preference toward the Ukrainian. In higher schools Ukrainian predominated but not to the exclusion of its rivals. The Cyrillic script is used for the local Russian and Ukrainian dialects,

1. Macartney, op. cit., p.217.

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though a modified Latin alphabet was also introduced. The following data from the official Czechoslovak statistics apply to the school year 1935/1936, territory "A" and "B":[1]

	Number of Classrooms	Students
Primary Schools:		
Language of instruction:		
Czechoslovak	666	25,726
Ruthenian, Russian, Ukrainian	2,096	98,984
German	28	1,543
Magyar	259	13,933
Rumanian	22	1,009
Hebrew	16	751
Other and multilingual	438	19,398
Total	3,525	161,344
Highschools:		
Language of instruction:		
Czechoslovak	46	1,618
Ruthenian, Russian, Ukrainian	69	2,604
Magyar	14	604
Total	129	4,826
Other schools	350	7,787
Grand total	4,004	173,957

To this figure should be added several hundreds of Ruthenian students who attended universities in other provinces of the Republic.

It will be noted that the proportion of students attending Czechoslovak classes to the total of citizens of Czechoslovak nationality is considerably higher than the corresponding Ruthenian ratio. The Ruthenian population was well compensated for this apparent disadvantage by the fact that, in contrast to the pre-1918 situation, all of them had the opportunity to go to school in a well-organized educational system, the expenses of which, only partly covered by local taxes, were borne by the central government.

It is also to be noted that practically all children of the Jewish population, treated as a separate nationality in population statistics, were attending Czechoslovak or Ruthenian schools. The numerical reduction of illiteracy figures can not be analyzed due to the differences in area and age groups for which data are available, but it can reasonably be assumed from the school attendance figures that illiteracy among the younger generation was reduced to a negligible minimum during the Czechoslovak administration.

1. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1939 #3, pp. 234-235.

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VII. EDUCATION AFTER 1939

While the Hungarian Government claims that it has maintained and even improved the Czechoslovak school system in Subcarpathia, publications of Subcarpathian groups in the United States accused the present administration of completely destroying the educational system by interning or driving beyond the borders many teachers and instructors and for maintaining a much smaller number of schools than existed under the Czechoslovak Republic.[1]

That the school system has considerably deteriorated since 1939 appears to be supported by the fact that a recent report of the Advisor General for Subcarpathia to the Parliament praised the achievements of the Hungarian administration in the field of cultural institutions mainly by quoting rather unimportant and relative figures instead of the absolute number of students attending classes.[2] Also while under the Czechoslovak regime attendance at educational institutions was available on very favorable conditions to all people of small income, conditions in Hungary are now extremely unfavorable. The school system was recently criticized in Parliament and it was claimed that schools all over the country are overcrowded, many children are prevented from going to school because of insufficient clothing and nutrition, and cannot make up at home for the missed classes because of overcrowded housing conditions and lack of fuel.[3]

The use of Ruthenian dialect as the language of instruction is assured by art. 18 of Decree #4800/1923 ME. which provides that whenever minority school children reach the number of 40 or the ratio of 50 percent, and upon request of the local school authorities, public officials or parents, the minority language should be used in teaching, without, however, prejudicing the mandatory classes in Magyar. If this principle were carried out, there would be two types of schools available for the Ruthenian minority. Type "A" with the minority language as language of instruction and Magyar as a "subject," Type "B" where half of the subjects are taught in minority language and the other half in Magyar. It has frequently been stated by Government spokesmen that the parents can freely choose among schools and send their children to one where the language of instruction is the one they desire, but of course it also depends on whether such a school is available. Some Rumanian schools were closed and their teachers dismissed[4] which, however, might have been the result of strained relations between Hungary and Rumania. No reliable

1. Zpravy Ceskoslovenske Tiskove Kancelare, New York, 27 Dec. 1943
2. Nepszava, Budapest, 18 December 1943.
3. Nepszava, 18 November 1943.
4. Nation und Staat, Vienna, October 1939, p.37.

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data are available for Ruthenian schools, but while it is unlikely that the government has completely reverted to the pre-1918 Magyarization program, it nevertheless took steps to make sure that Ruthenian teachers and students become loyal Hungarians.

Thus the appointments of teachers taken over from the Czechoslovak system were only temporarily extended, the final appointment being subject to an examination arranged by the Minister of Public Education.[1] After the incorporation of Subcarpathia, Hungarian cities invited Ruthenian children for holidays and extended residence for the duration of a secondary school education or teacher training.[2] Ruthenian children from Chust (Huszt) and neighborhood are now spending their fifth schoolyear in Budapest as guests of the city; they live in their own dormitories and attend a local college.[3] They will still speak and use the Ruthenian language when they return home, but may by that time have become supporters of the Hungarian administration.

VIII. NEWSPAPERS AND THEATERS AFTER 1939

The periodicals published under the Czechoslovak Republic were allowed until 15 March 1940; after that date they were subject to a new license to be granted upon application to the Prime Minister.[4] Censorship prevailed and while at first only articles dealing with national defense, foreign relations, domestic public security and economic affairs were subject to preliminary approval, after 11 February 1940 this regulation was extended to all publications in the territory of Subcarpathia ("B" and "C") and the cities of Užhorod (Ungvár) and Mukačevo (Munkács).[5]

Ruthenian language newspapers were allowed or even supported by the government, and thus many of them support the administration. The circulation of the New York publication "Karpatská Rus," organ of Subcarpathian groups in the United States, was prohibited.[6]

At present András Bródy (see Appendix) publishes a Great Russian language daily entitled "Ruskoye Slovo." The Hungarian language paper is the "Kárpáti Hiradó" published in Ungvár.

The Ruthenian language theater was recently reorganized and is scheduled on a provincial tour. The director of the company is a Hungarian, but all actors are Ruthenians.[7]

1. Decree #105,800/1942 VKM.
2. Danubian Review, Budapest, 1939 #11, p.21.
3. Népszava, 18 December 1943.
4. Decree #9000/1939 ME.
5. Decree #1060/1940 ME.
6. Decree #4249/1939 IM.
7. Népszava, 22 December 1943.

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IX. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION BEFORE 1939

Until 1919 Subcarpathia under Hungarian administration could not provide its own staff of officials due to the low educational standards and Magyarization policy. Officials were imported from other parts of the country and were loyal servants of the Budapest government.

When in 1920 Subcarpathian Russia became an autonomous province of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, it was untrained and unprepared to take charge of its newly-won autonomy. Thus the Czechoslovak government provided officials by transferring them from other provinces to administer Subcarpathian Russia until an appropriate number of local officials could be trained to carry out full autonomy. By 1935 the distribution of public offices among the various nationality groups showed the following figures:[1]

	Chief officials of central administration	Lesser employees
Czechs	720	1,012
Ukrainian emigrants	37	--
Russian emigrants	19	--
Ruthenians	139	703
Magyars	88	156
Jews	--	61
Germans	--	40
Total:	1,003	1,972

X. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AFTER 1939

In 1939 the Subcarpathian territory "B" and "C" was incorporated into Hungary and promised an autonomy organically coordinated into Hungary's constitution.[2] It now forms a separate administrative district officially referred to as the "Subcarpathia which has come back" (visszatért Kárpátalja). This title contrasts significantly with the official titles given to the other occupied territories, i.e. "reannexed" Upper Hungary, Eastern and Transylvanian territories (visszacsatolt Felvidék, keleti és erdélyi területek) which were acquired by the two Vienna awards, and "reoccupied" southern area (visszafoglalt Délvidék), the Bácska and Mur districts which Hungarian troops occupied against considerable Jugoslav resistance four months after the signing of the Jugoslav-Hungarian pact of peace and eternal friendship. Fighting occurred also during the occupation of Subcarpathian territories,

1. Macartney, op. cit., p.225, quoting data supplied by the Zemski Urad in 1935.
2. Danubian Review 1939 #7 p. 40, quoting Regent Horthy's speech of 14 June 1939.

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1. Macartney, op. cit., p.225, quoting data supplied by the Zemski Urad in 1935.
2. Danubian Review 1939 #7 p. 40, quoting Regent Horthy's speech of 14 June 1939.

though on a much smaller scale than in Jugoslavia. Nevertheless the Hungarian Government maintained the official theory that the Ruthenian people after the collapse of Czechoslovakia returned by their own free will into the Realm of St. Stephen, having suffered heavily during the two decades of "foreign" rule.

The promised autonomy, however, was not granted and indications are that the Hungarian Government is in no particular hurry in this question. If the Czechoslovak Government did not find it advisable in 1920 to grant autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia because of the lack of Ruthenians educated in administration and politics and also because of the possibility of a pro-Hungarian sentiment among the uneducated people, the Hungarian Government in 1939 would most certainly have lost its grip over a self-governing Ruthenian people. It must also be noted that territory "A" does not form a part of the Hungarian administrative district of Subcarpathia, so that the theoretically autonomous Subcarpathia would be without its two large towns, without the lateral railroad and fertile lands.

Subcarpathia was divided into three administrative agencies (Ung, Bereg, Máramaros), ostensibly different from the Hungarian county system, but like the latter actually under control of the government. Temporarily a minister for Subcarpathian Affairs was appointed as well as a permanent Government Commissioner for Subcarpathia, neither of them local Ruthenians. The Advisor General is a local Ruthenian with obvious Magyar sympathies, and he has been accused by a Ruthenian representative in Parliament, that, lacking office facilities and equipment, the Advisor General cannot perform his duty.[1]

Officials of the Czechoslovak administration were not confirmed, but provisions were made for the temporary extension of their appointment for a duration of 1½-2½ years. Similar temporary status was granted to Bar Associations and Medical Associations. Loyalty to the nation as well as Hungarian citizenship were made prerequisite to such temporary appointments, and in this connection Hungarian citizenship was to be presumed for all persons who themselves or whose ancestors lost their pre-1919 Hungarian citizenship as a result of the Trianon treaty.[2] Consequently the Czech officials, practically all of whom entered Subcarpathia after 1920, were excluded from the new administration.

Subsequently a more permanent status was given to civil service employees, whereby, pending legislation for full autonomy as granted by art. 6 of the law #1939:VI, quotas will be established for civil service positions. In filling these positions the following persons -- if otherwise qualified -- will receive preference:

1. Népszava 17 November 1943.
2. Decrees #5800/1939 ME and #7810/1939 ME.

a. those who were Hungarian civil service employees before 26 July 1921, but lost their job without compensation on account of their Hungarian loyalty and political behaviour, but remained in Subcarpathia

b. same as a. but moved to Trianon Hungary, received no civil service job or government support

c. those who were in Czechoslovak civil service until 15 March 1939

d. descendants of a. now living in Hungary

e. all persons who were Subcarpathian residents until 15 March 1939 and have resided in Hungary since that time.[1]

While former Czechoslovak officials are not excluded by this regulation, ample opportunity is given to the government to appoint loyal Hungarians, not only Subcarpathians but persons from other parts of the country as well. As recently as December 1943 it was still being requested in the Upper House of Parliament that the government send the best officials to Subcarpathia,[2] which seems to be an indication that there is no intention of turning over the administration to an autonomous local organization.

All officials were urged by existing regulations and other means to learn the Ruthenian language. The gendarmerie serving in Subcarpathia was recruited from the Hungarian plain and it was stated by official sources that at the end of 1943 60 percent spoke the Ruthenian language perfectly.[3] (See Appendix for Deputies Spak's and Demko's criticism of Hungarian officials.)

The use of minority languages in Hungary is regulated by decree #4800/1923 ME. Generally speaking the use of any local language is assured in local affairs, but both the local and Magyar language must be used in communications with higher authorities and ministries. Art. 22 also provides that Hungarian citizens may use the Magyar language and demand an answer in the same in communications with public offices and wherever they are entitled to speak, even where the local official language is not Magyar.

In some instances, however, this decree was modified with respect to Subcarpathian territory ("B" and "C"). Thus although under general regulations attorneys must use the Magyar language in District Courts (Járásbíróság) and all higher courts, it was decreed that attorneys may use the Ruthenian language in all courts on Subcarpathian territory. Also while under general regulations private parties could use the minority language only in District Courts and Courts of Justice (Törvényszék), the Court of Appeals (Itélötábla, none located in Subcarpathia) has now been ordered to provide a Ruthenian-speaking staff to accommodate the Ruthenian public in all cases

1. Decree #7800/1939 ME.
2. Népszava, 17 December 1943, quoting br. Kaás Albert.
3. Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 27 November 1942 (News Digest #1021) and Magyar Nemzet, 21 December 1943.

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originated in Subcarpathia.[1] The Supreme Court (Kuria) remains purely Magyar.

XI. POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

As in economic and educational fields, the Czechoslovak Republic opened a new chapter in Subcarpathian Russia's political life. A large number of political parties were organized and election returns showed a trend toward the left. By 1935 the distribution of votes among the various parties was as follows:[2]

Party	Number of votes	Percent of total
Communist	78,994	26.7
Czechoslovak Agrarian	60,747	20.0
" Social Democratic	30,729	10.2
" National Social (Benes)	11,272	3.7
" People's Party	7,321	2.4
Agrarian Opposition (Kurtyak, autonomist)	44,982	15.0
Fencik Party (autonomist, fascist)	28,956	9.7
Magyar Parties	34,186	11.4
Henlein Party	1,535	.5
German Social Democratic	1,183	.3
Debtors' Party	366	.1
Total:	300,271	1000

With this political background it was quite unlikely that Subcarpathian political life would continue without friction under the conservative and partially Nazified Hungarian regime.

The Hungarian Government could not risk such election results and decided to postpone elections. Legislation was passed authorizing the joint session of both Houses of Parliament to invite Representatives and Upper House members from the newly incorporated areas.

Carpatho-Russian groups in the United States are very active in all problems of their European brethren regarding their relations with Czechoslovakia, USSR, Hungary, and autonomy. It should be mentioned here that movements to join the USSR are not being encouraged by Moscow.[3]

XII. REPRESENTATION IN THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT AFTER 1939

After 1939, the representatives invited to join the Hungarian Parliament were to be chosen from a list submitted by the Prime Minister. Eligible for this list were members

1. Decree #4800/1923 ME and #5800/1923 ME art. 12.
2. Macartney, op. cit., p.240.
3. "Carpatho-Russia, Clue to Soviet Policy?" FNB #154, FNB #B-122, and FNB #155.

of the Czechoslovak national and provincial Parliaments as well as potential candidates on rosters of Hungarian parties. Not more than ten deputies were to be invited from Subcarpathia.[1] Thus while ostensibly the invitation was based on former membership in Czechoslovak Parliaments, the Hungarian Government was in a position to invite only loyal Hungarian Representatives from Subcarpathia. Information available indicates that they are no doubt very anxious to improve conditions in Subcarpathia, but most of them fall in line with the government's Magyarization policy. It is unlikely that a free election would have returned so many supporters of the Hungarian Government.

Pending legislation to regulate membership in the Upper House, three Ruthenians were invited effective 1 January 1943 by the joint session of the Parliament.[2] Considering the structure of the Upper House, it can fairly be assumed that these members support the government's Subcarpathian policy.

XIII. MAGYARIZATION PROGRAM

Until early in the 19th century linguistic minority groups in Hungary lived in relative amity and lack of friction with the central government on account of discrimination or Magyarization policies. In fact Hungary was not a national state and there was no "minority problem" at all in the sense that it exists today. The language of Parliament and legislature, of higher instruction, of the educated classes, and of the state officials was Latin, while the Magyar language, like Serb or Rumanian, was that of the uneducated peasant. It was the Hapsburg centralization policy which created a reaction in a new group of Magyar chauvinists, who in the 1830's and 1840's embarked on a radical Magyarization program. This in turn incited the national consciousness of the various Slavic minority groups which at first allied themselves with the Magyars against Vienna but turned promptly against the Budapest government as soon as they had a favorable opportunity, as in 1848 and in 1918. After the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, the various nationality groups in Hungary were subject to an extensive Magyarization policy directed from Budapest and not hindered by the liberal minority legislation of 1868 which was never carried out. The extremely poor and backward population of Subcarpathia readily submitted and was willing to turn Magyar in compensation for economic advantages and higher education, for the attainment of which it had no other means.

Twenty years of liberal and progressive Czechoslovak administration changed the attitude of the Ruthenians and in 1939 the Hungarian Government could not expect the pre-1918 experiment to be repeated.

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1. Law #1939: VI art. 2.
2. Law #1942: XXI art. 8.

The difference should be noted between the administration of territory "A" on the one hand, and territory "B" and "C" on the other. The territory recovered in 1938 ("A"), where the Ruthenians are in minority, was incorporated in the existing county system and subjected to a powerful Magyarization policy. As a high official declared on 10 November 1939, the first anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Uzhorod (Ungvar), administrative and cultural center of former Subcarpathian Russia, where none of the several nationality groups formed an absolute majority of the population: "This town must be able to remain Magyar and at the same time take the Ruthenians to its bosom and be ready to make sacrifices for them."[1] Business firms were urged to Magyarize their names; application and registration connected with this procedure were exempt from the usual fees.[2] The validity of Czechoslovak trade licenses was automatically cancelled as of 1 July 1939 and in order to acquire a permanent license a qualifying examination for certain skilled professions was usually required in Budapest.[3]

In Subcarpathia proper ("B" and "C") the official theory was that the Ruthenians had never lost their national individuality under the pre-1918 Hungarian rule, and that the new Hungarian administration will see to it that it is preserved. This theory was supported by special privileges and by organizing Subcarpathia into a special administrative district which is supposed to receive full autonomy at an early date. However, the Ruthenian people were not satisfied with the treatment and the Prime Minister's speech in Chust (Huszt) on 15 November 1943 at the unveiling of the First World War memorial, could not offset the implications of an incident which occurred in the same city the previous year; on the Hungarian national holiday of 15 March 1942 three local citizens hoisted the Ukrainian flag after hauling down the Hungarian. These three men were subsequently sentenced to 3-12 months' prison terms for this action as well as for erecting a commemorative tablet for fallen SIC (Ukrainian Storm Troopers) guardsmen who fought the Hungarian occupation.[4]

The support of the Ruthenian national ideal by the Hungarian Government, to whatever extent it existed, did not last very long. Hungarian tradespeople from the plains migrated to Subcarpathia with government support[5] and this trend appeared to continue as evidenced by a Subcarpathian deputy's demand in Parliament that only local tradesmen should receive government subsidy.[6]

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1. Danubian Review 1939 #12 p. 29.
2. Decree #1450/1940 M.E.
3. Decree #1720/1939 M.E. and 53,300/1939 B.M.
4. Kis Ujsag, Budapest, 27 November 1942 (News Digest #990).
5. Slovak, Bratislava, 9 January 1943 quoting Nemzeti Ujsag Budapest (News Digest #1040).
6. Nepszava, 20 November 1943 quoting Homicko Vladimir.

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A good example of the forced Magyarization program disregarding local traditions of nationality groups was a decree promulgated on 5 January 1941 which provided that in all Northern and Eastern newly incorporated territories (including Subcarpathia) entries of foreign names into the birth or marriage register made during the "foreign" regimes after 1920, could be rectified upon request by the party concerned. Thus distorted or changed family names could be corrected to their original form and given names which have no corresponding Magyar form could be changed to a Magyar name if its foreign form would "prejudice the national spirit and reputation" of its bearer.[1]

XIV. ELIMINATION OF MEMORIALS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

A special aspect of the post-1939 Magyarization policy was the attempt to eliminate the Czechoslovak officials who settled in Subcarpathia after 1920 and also certain institutions which were closely connected with two decades of Czechoslovak administration. Thus after the incorporation of Subcarpathia, Hungarian citizenship was automatically conferred on all persons who lost their former Hungarian citizenship as a result of the 1921 Trianon treaty, provided that their residence was permanently on Subcarpathian soil since 29 March 1915. This privilege did not apply to persons who themselves or whose ancestors acquired Czechoslovak citizenship after 1921 by exercising their right of "option" (the right of moving from other Hungarian territories into areas to be incorporated by the Trianon treaty into Czechoslovakia).[2] In other words Hungarian citizenship and privileges attached thereto were not granted to former Czech officials; they were practically excluded from civil service jobs and most of them left Subcarpathia before the Hungarian occupation or shortly thereafter. It is admitted by Hungarian sources that practically all Czech citizens in the town of Kosice (Kassa) in Slovakia, well over 15,000 in number, fled the city before Hungarian troops arrived,[3] and this most likely holds true for Subcarpathian territory as well.

Legislation was passed to nullify the Czechoslovak land reform and facilitate the transfer of lands thus released to the ownership of the Hungarian State for further disposal.[4]

Sentences passed by Czechoslovak courts for offenses against Czechoslovak laws dealing with the protection of the Republic and the armed forces were ordered to be stricken from the criminal records.[5]

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1. Decree #70/1941 M.E. art. 1-2.
2. Law #1939: VI art. 5.
3. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, 1939 #5, p.522.
4. Decree #8430/1940 M.E.
5. Decree #13,744/1939 IM.

Czechoslovak legislation which postponed compensation to be paid in connection with disorders which occurred during the 1918 frontier changes, was declared void.[1]

However, the political and educational rehabilitation achieved by two decades of Czechoslovak administration could not be eliminated by the acts of legislation.

XV. MILITARY ACTIVITIES AFTER 1939

Extensive activities of the Hungarian army in Subcarpathia have frequently been reported by various sources and emphatically denied by the Hungarian Government.

Guerrilla fighting might be one of the reasons for the presence of Hungarian troops, though the extent of fighting and the structure or connections of the guerrilla forces cannot be ascertained. Most likely they are the remnants of the SIC groups and possibly also new ones supported from beyond the borders. The situation was never quite calm after 1939. Hungarian officers were arrested for supporting Serb, Russian, and Polish guerrillas[2] whose activities intensified throughout 1942 and presumably received support also from the local population. No disturbances were admitted in Subcarpathia, but they were evidenced nevertheless by orders providing strict penalties for not delivering hidden arms[3] and extending the emergency use of arms for the Gendarmerie.[4]

By the end of 1943, it also appeared that the Hungarian army was making extensive preparations for the fortification of Subcarpathia, building new military highways and mining these as well as those previously existing.[5] The government no doubt plans to defend this country against all eventualities, particularly occupation by USSR, return to the Czechoslovak Republic, and "protection" against the Russian advance by Germany. This latter might be an important aspect, because in the case of a German showdown, the Hungarian army would have better defense positions in the mountains than on the plain.

1. Decree #7840/1939 ME.
2. New York Times, 13 July 1942.
3. Magyar Nemzet, 23 September 1942 (News Digest #943).
4. Decree #4620/1943 ME, published 3 October 1943, applies also to frontier districts in occupied Jugoslav territory.

XVI. SUMMARY OF THE NEW HUNGARIAN POLICY

The Hungarian Government will use its full power to retain Subcarpathia after this war. Military preparedness in this territory is only a short range aspect of the problem. The most important long range aspect is that of Magyarization, and even though by now the Government must have realized that the pre-1918 program cannot be carried out, it has not given up all hope.

However a new method is also being tried out and appears to be an important factor of the present Hungarian policy towards minorities in Subcarpathia. It consists in emphasizing the national consciousness of the Ruthenian people and the importance of using their own language. They are being reminded how badly they were treated under the Czechoslovak administration. To insure that the Ruthenians become loyal Hungarians despite retaining their own languages and national character, the civil service staff is strengthened by importing officials from other parts of the country, who are required to speak the local Ruthenian language perfectly. Great care is also being taken to see that a sufficient number of Ruthenian children receive their secondary school education in Magyar sections of Hungary in order to form the nucleus of a new intelligentsia of Ruthenian nationality and Hungarian loyalty.

There are also indications that while the Hungarian Government may encourage the use and development of a native language, it will do so in an effort to maintain the specifically Ruthenian language, officially referred to as the Magyar-Orosz or Hungarian-Russian. This would eliminate the Ukrainian culture and dialects and thus remove an argument in favor of the Ukrainian federation.

XVII. THE FUTURE OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA

After the First World War the future disposition of Subcarpathian Russia was a considerable problem which was finally decided by purely political considerations. Strategically located between Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, it fitted better as a link between Czechoslovakia and Rumania than between Poland and Hungary. After the Second World War political considerations will again play an important part.

The Czechoslovak government-in-exile fully intends to re-integrate Subcarpathian Russia within a restored Czechoslovakia. Benes in his speech of 3 February 1944, again emphasized that Hungary must be dispossessed of this territory, and he can presumably count on the support of all the United Nations in this demand. The Hungarian seizure of Ruthenia in 1939 was a typical example of the violent territorial changes which the Allies refuse to recognize. It can, therefore,

be taken almost for granted that Hungary will not be permitted to retain the province after the war. Whether the separation of Subcarpathian Russia from Hungary will mean the restoration of this territory to Czechoslovakia is not so clear. Ethnic and social forces draw it as much toward the USSR as toward Czechoslovakia. The good effect of the many undoubted benefits conferred on the territory under the Czechoslovak regime was undermined in many cases by bitter feelings over its failure to grant full autonomy. With such mixed sympathies, the population, which is not very highly developed politically in any case, is ready to be swayed in either direction according to events. Its final disposition will depend on outside happenings rather than on internal movements.

The Russian attitude is not yet entirely clear. Nothing was said about frontiers in the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, although the USSR has expressly stated (in 1941) that it recognized the Czechoslovak Republic as constituted within pre-Munich boundaries. Czechoslovaks in exile also point out that Russia tacitly recognizes the Czech claim to Subcarpathian Russia by assigning all Ruthenian prisoners and deserters from the Hungarian army to the Czechoslovak Brigade in Russia. About 60 percent of the soldiers in the Brigade are of Ruthenian origin. It is not impossible that the USSR may be perfectly willing to permit Czechoslovakia, now established as a true friend, to retain the province, although the Russians could present a valid claim to it on the basis of ethnic kinship. Diplomatically, it could be interpreted as a beau geste indicating that the USSR is not imperialist. Strategically, the northern frontier of Subcarpathian Russia is far more easily defensible that the southern, which already merges into the great Danubian plain, and the USSR may prefer to have a friendly buffer state between it and Hungary at this point.

Nevertheless, Russia has never actually renounced all claims on Ruthenia. Allegedly in deference to the Anglo-American desire to leave all detailed frontier settlements to the post-war period, the Russians, in their treaty with Czechoslovakia, did not specifically guarantee restoration of the pre-Munich frontiers of Czechoslovakia, although they have informally given the Czechs to understand that they would probably do so later. In the present diplomatic situation, in which Russia is still somewhat isolated from the other United Nations, the Czechoslovak treaty is as important to the USSR as to Czechoslovakia. If its isolation continues, Russia may be expected to placate Czechoslovakia, by keeping hands off Ruthenia. Should the situation change, however, Czechoslovakia would be powerless to prevent secession of the province especially if the Ruthenians -- who include a strong Communist element -- should themselves request incorporation into the Soviet federation. Which way the situation will turn cannot yet be foreseen.

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APPENDIX: WHO'S WHO IN SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA

This is not intended to be a complete Who's Who covering all prominent Subcarpathian personalities. Available information is fragmentary and little reliable news reaches us from Subcarpathian Russia. Officials and members of the Hungarian Parliament were appointed to a large extent from the ranks of obviously pro-Magyar individuals and their ideas are by no means indicative of the sentiment of the Ruthenian population.

A. High Officials Appointed by the Hungarian Government

Tomcsányi, Vilmos Pál. Government Commissioner for Subcarpathia since 1942. Member Hungarian Parliament Upper House, university professor, lawyer, landowner. Studied in Berlin, Paris, London, and the United States. Minister of Justice in 1920. For years member of Hungaro-Italian Mixed Arbitration Commission and Arbitration Commission carrying out the liquidation work of the common Austro-Hungarian property and twice represented Hungary as a delegate to the Permanent International Court at the Hague. Ever since his nomination as Government Commissioner for Subcarpathia there has been little heard about him and he stays very much in the background.

Ilniczky, Sándor. Chief Counsellor of Subcarpathia. A Greek Catholic Priest. Supports the Subcarpathian policy of the Hungarian Government. Made several speeches describing in an over-optimistic and exaggerated manner the pro-Magyar sentiment of Ruthenians and the achievements of cultural institutions. Was accused by Homicsko, invited Ruthenian deputy in the Hungarian Parliament, who claimed that lacking office facilities and equipment the Chief Counsellor cannot possibly fulfill his duty. Member of the Hungarian Parliament (Upper House).

B. Present Members of the Group of Subcarpathian Deputies in the Hungarian Parliament (House of Representatives).

Bencze, György. Landowner, former member of the Subcarpathian-Russian Council and former Provincial Representative in the Czechoslovak Republic elected by the Autonomous Agrarian Party.

Bródy András. Newspaper publisher. Former member of the Czechoslovak Parliament elected by the Autonomous Agricultural Union. Professed the autonomous platform in the Czechoslovak Parliament and was accused of having maintained relations with Budapest. Now positively pro-Magyar.

Demkó Mihály. Journalist, accused Fenčik (cf.) for being pro-Czechoslovak. In his speech of 24 November 1943 in the Hungarian Parliament he complained that Ruthenian boys do not feel at home in the Hungarian army. He asked the Minister of Defense to give them commanders who speak Ruthenian, and to see to it that cows, horses, poultry, and eggs of those families whose menfolk are fighting should not be requisitioned. He also mentioned that officials who have been sent from Hungary three years ago still have not mastered the Ruthenian language and that once a "Levente" (Hungarian Youth organization) commander ordered the Ruthenian priest to preach in Magyar to young people who did not understand that language.

Homicskó, Vladimir. Physician, openly opposes the Hungarian Government's minority policy and constantly criticizes local conditions.

Soák, Iván. Journalist, criticized the poor rate of pay of Magyar officials in Subcarpathia and the fact that they do not learn the Russian language; under these conditions, he claimed, corruption is rife and the local people are dissatisfied with the Magyar administration.

Szegora, Ödön. Merchant, demanded credits and subsidies for Ruthenian merchants.

C. Present Members of the Government Party (M.E.P.) in the Hungarian Parliament (House of Representatives), Who Were Originally Invited on Behalf of Reoccupied Subcarpathian Territories ("A", "B", and "C").

Budai, István. Lawyer, County Attorney.

Csuha, Sándor. Landowner.

Egry, Ferenc. Landowner.

Földesi, Gyula. Publisher and printer.

Hokky, Károly. Former Counsellor of Education.

Kökényesy, Péter. Retired Ministerial Counsellor.

Ortutay, Jenő. Greek Catholic Arch-Deacon, former member of the Subcarpathian-Russian Provincial Representation in the Czechoslovak Republic elected by the Hungarian Christian Socialists. Believed to be Axis-sympathizer.

Riskó, Béla. Retired Deputy Lieutenant (Alispán).

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Vozáry, Aladár. Former member of the Subcarpathian-Russian Provincial Representation in the Czechoslovak Republic, elected by the Hungarian National Party. Does not believe in forced Magyarization but agrees with the Hungarian Government's policy of strengthening the Magyar element in Subcarpathia.

D. Present Members without Party Affiliation in the Hungarian Parliament (House of Representatives), Who Were Originally Invited on Behalf of Subcarpathian Reoccupied Territories ("A").

Fenczik, István. Former member of the Czechoslovak Parliament, elected by the Ruthenian National Autonomous Party. Former teacher in Theology. Was accused in the Hungarian Parliament by Demkó (cf.) for having behaved as a conspicuously loyal citizen towards the Czechoslovak Republic. Fenczik replied that in view of this accusation he cannot remain in the Government Party (U.E.P.), of which he then was a member, and submitted evidence to prove that the Czechoslovak Government had brought 462 actions against him for high treason.

Korláth, Endre. Retired Lord Lieutenant (Főispán), landowner.

E. Members of the Hungarian Parliament (Upper House).

Kricsfalussy-Hrabár, Endre. Member appointed on behalf of Subcarpathia. Retired Colonel of Gendarmerie, former Governor of the Province of Subcarpathian Russia in the Czechoslovak Republic. Supports the Hungarian Government's Subcarpathian policy and praises its achievements. However, he also claimed that complaints against the administration in Subcarpathia, if there are any complaints at all, are due to the faults of the executive authorities.

Ganyó, István. Member appointed on behalf of Subcarpathia. Former Landowner's Steward.

Demjanovich, Péter. Member appointed on behalf of Subcarpathia. Greek Catholic Priest.

Kaas, Baron Albert. Not a Subcarpathian member. Devoted a recent speech to Subcarpathian affairs and praised the Government's Magyarization policy.

Tomcsányi and Ilniczky. See under A.

Benda Kálmán. Elected by Bereg county, manager and engineer.

Horváth, István. Elected by Bereg county, landowner.

Lagda, Sándor. Elected by Ung county, Calvinist bishop.

Molnár, Sándor. Elected by Ungvár city, bank manager.

Kaminszky, Dr. József. Appointed by Regent as life member, Chairman of County Orphanage Board.

F. Members of the Czechoslovak State Council in London.

Cibere, Paul. Graduate of Faculty of Law, Charles University, Prague. Organized youth movements in Subcarpathian Russia and became General Secretary of the Carpatho-Russian National Council. Member of the Czechoslovak State Council in London since its creation. Opposed orientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy toward the USSR. Recently resigned presumably in protest against Petruscak's pro-USSR orientation. Resignation was not officially accepted and the matter is believed unsettled.

Petruscak, Ivan. Born 1903 near Užhorod. Took an active part in Hungarian and Czechoslovak Trade Union movements. Studied the worker's organizations in USSR. After his return to Czechoslovakia edited Ukrainian language newspaper. Moved to England in 1939, retrained as a turner and worked in war industries. Appointed to the Czechoslovak State Council in November 1942. Favors Ukrainian and USSR orientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

G. Members of the "One Day Government" (15 March 1939) of Independent Subcarpathian Russia.

Volosin Monsignor Augustin. Prime Minister. President of Ruthenian National Council 1918/1919. Deputy of National Socialist (Benes) Party 1925/1929. Editor of Ruthenian periodical, author of various school textbooks. Former President of Pedagogical Association of Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Now believed to be in Berlin.

Perevuznik, Dr. Minister of the Interior.

Kločurak, Stepan. Minister of Economics, pro-German.

Dolinaj, Dr. Minister of Health and Social Welfare. Former member of the Subcarpathian-Russian Council 1935 in the Czechoslovak Republic.

Braščajko, Julius. Minister of Finance and Commerce.

Révay, Julian. Minister of Foreign Affairs. Pro-German.

H. Others.

Kirska, Pál.
Obručan, Laszló.
Severn, András.

Sentenced by a Hungarian court to 3-12 months' imprisonment for participation in erecting a commemorative tablet in Chust for fallen SIC guardsmen who fought against the Hungarian

(continued on page 26)

occupation troops and for pulling down the Hungarian and hoisting the Ukrainian flag on the Hungarian National Holiday, 15 March 1942.

Homokay, Pál. Director of the newly-organized Sub-carpathian National Theatre. He is a Magyar, but all actors are reported to be local Ruthenians.

Lukinics, Imre. Professor and Dean at the University of Budapest. Had written the preface to a publication by the Ruthenian Scientific Society. According to Albert Kaas (cf.) this publication deals with Russo-Ruthenian relations at the beginning of the 19th century, it is anti-Hungarian and should be considered as Panslav and Communist propaganda.

Popoff, Mihaly. Head of the Orthodox Church in Ruthenia.

Ruszinszkó, Miklós. Canon of Greek Catholic Church, Chust (Huszt).

Sztojka, Sándor. Greek Bishop of Mukačevo (Munkács).

Baksay, Jozsef. President of Ruthenian Cultural Association.

Zima, Tivado. Vice President of the Ruthenian Cultural Association.

Malincs, Ernö. General Secretary of the Ruthenian Cultural Association.